

83

A
Short History

OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

Short History



ARRIVÉE

A SHORT
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

malis Populus venalis Curia Patrum!



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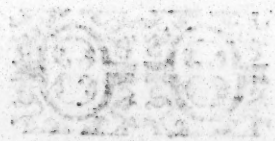
A SHORT



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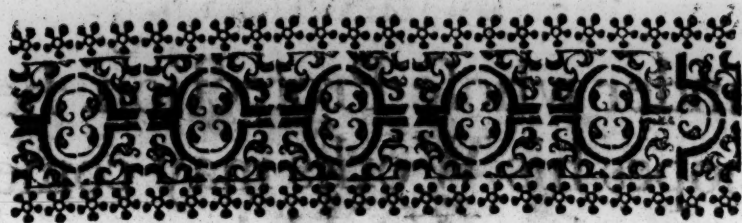
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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE
Lord _____

My LORD,

WHEN a Man resolves to turn Author, he immediately looks out for some *Great Man*, under

The Dedication.

under whose Protection, he hopes his Works may come into the World better recommended ; and tho' private Interest has generally a great Influence in the Choice of Patrons, I was resolv'd upon this Occasion without any other Regard, to fix upon a Person, whom all the World shou'd agree to have the best Right and Title to this Dedication : And here it was impossible to be long at a Loss ; were I to celebrate the Actions of *Bleinheim*, *Ramelies*, and *Oudenard*, to whom could I think of inscribing such an
Un-

The Dedication.

Undertaking, but to the
Great GENERAL, who
was known to command on
those glorious Days, and
without naming his Name,
every body wou'd agree to
whom alone the Honour
was due ; in commemora-
ting the three last Winter
Campaigns in Parliament,
which tho' not exposed to
much Danger, must be al-
low'd to require some Con-
duct and Generalship, at
whose Feet could I think of
laying this Treatise, but at
your LORDSHIP's, and to
mention your Name, would
be to suppose that the Fame
and

The Dedication.

and Reputation which you have acquir'd by retrieving the Affairs of the *French King*, was not as well known to all the World as the mistaken Glory of the Duke of *Marlborough* in distressing him. Your Troops, it must be confessed, were good, ready at the Word of Command, to go upon any Attack, resolute and determin'd to go thro' upon all Adventures. But yet as the Glory of conducting them is entirely due to your *Lordship*, I beg Leave to lay before you this short Treatise, which I have undertaken,
not

The Dedication.

not out of any Affection to
Scribling, much less with
Hopes of any Reward from
your *Lordship*. I will there-
fore, neither prefix your
Name, nor subscribe my
own, trusting that the
World will easily know the
one, and hardly guess at the
other.

In writing this short Hi-
story, I have endeavour'd
to state all the Facts fairly,
and in their true Light,
that the whole World may
be Judge of the Benefits
they receiv'd from the pre-
sent Parliament, and that

B . all

The Dedication.

all *England* may see, what they have done for the *Quiet of these Nations* and the *universal Good*, and that the *Freeholders* may at the next *Election*, if they think fit make *Choice* of such *Mens* as are resolv'd to act upon the *same Principles*, with the *same Prudence and Vigour*, and under the same, I mean your *Lordship's*, auspicious *Influence*.

No doubt, *My Lord*, the *Expence* of *Management* has been great; but had one *short Rule* been observ'd and had the *Members* receiv'd

The Dedication.

ceiv'd no more, than they truly deserv'd from their Country, I am of Opinion, the Commons might have been paid, as they are said to have paid the Nation's Debts, without one Farthing Charge to the People.

Far be it from me to detract from the Honour of that Noble Assembly ; but if it were no Offence to your Lordship's great Modesty, I would take upon me to say, they could never have perform'd so many remarkable Services, had they not firmly

The Dedication.

ly adher'd to your *Lordship*
and their *Monosyllables*.

To these therefore, and
your *Lordship*, the Honour
is due of all that the follow
ing Sheets contain: To
your *Lordship's* great Truth
and Sincerity, is owing the
present indefeasible Securi
ty of the Protestant Suc
cession in the *House of Han
over*, and the perfect Friend
ship between Her Majesty
and that illustrious House.
To your *Lordship's* Zeal for
the *Establiſh'd Religion*, and
Aversion to *Fanaticism*, is
owing the Safety of our
Church;

The Dedication.

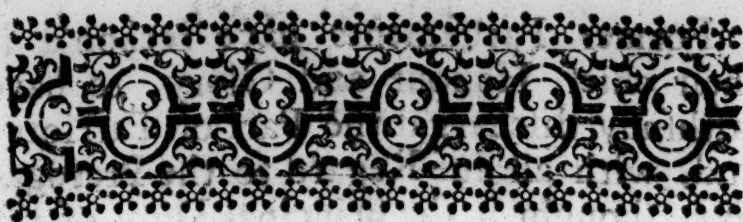
Church ; to the Love of
your Country, and your
deep Skill in Foreign Af-
fairs, is owing the Glory of
the Peace, and the Ballance
of Power in *Europe* ; to
your Great Wisdom, we
owe the Extension of our
Trade ; and to your Vigi-
lance, the Demolition of
Dunkirk. In short, to your
Lordship's Dexterity and
Munificence, we owe what
was done in the *One House*,
and to your Eloquence,
Perspicuity, and *Twelve*
Peers, whatever was done
in the *Other*.

Thus

The Dedication.

Thus *My Lord*, the Merit of all that has of late been transacted, may be justly attributed to your *Lordship*: There are some, very few I hope, who may deny your *Lordship* these Attributes, and fewer yet, who will be unwilling they should meet with their just Reward,

I am, &c.



A

Short History

OF THE

PARLIAMENT.

IT has been usual, at the End of former Parliaments, to give the World some Account or History of their Proceedings; and as this Parliament may be truly said to have distinguish'd themselves from all that ever went before them, I think it but a Piece of Justice due to them, to those that chose them, and to those who are soon to proceed to a new Election, to give a short Sketch of their most Extraordinary Transactions; which, I doubt not, will preserve the Memory of this Parliament to Posterity.

Former

Former Parliaments have reckon'd it their chief Honour and Glory, to have faithfully discharg'd the Part of Patriots ; and, with all due Regard to the Prerogative, thought it the principal Duty of the Representative of the People, to watch over and secure the Rights, Priviledges, Liberties and Properties of the Subject. What Care or Concern of this kind has been seen in this Parliament, I need not say : They have prided themselves in the Titles of *Dutiful and Loyal* ; a Character that no future Parliament will ever want, that will be ready always to comply with and support the Projects of an enterprizing Ministry : But let the Electors consider, Whether such Qualifications are fitter for a Member of Parliament of *Great-Britain*, or the Parliament of *Paris*.

At the Time this Parliament was chosen, all thinking Men were under the greatest Apprehensions of the dreadful Consequences that must attend such a sudden Change of Affairs as was then seen, and carried on with so much Fury.

The former Measures most visibly tended to nothing but confirming a Noble Alliance, form'd to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*; to rescue *Spain* and the *Indies* from the *House of Bourbon*; and thereby to settle a true Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

Europe, to secure the Protestant Interest and in particular the *Protestant Succession*, of the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

These great Ends were the chief View of those that serv'd the QUEEN for the eight first Years of her Reign; and with what Success they serv'd her, their worst Enemies do confess.

But when a new Scheme was concerted, the contrary Measures were immediately to be enter'd upon: The War must be ended, the Grand Alliance dissolv'd, and to perfect all, Peace and a strict Friendship with *France* must be concluded.

But as these Doctrines, when they were entirely new, were at first surprizing and shocking to all the Nation, to surmize such Events was call'd *Malice* and *Faction*: If any such thing cou'd be design'd, the Parliament, to be sure, wou'd never come into it, and this was to be our great Security; but how far the Fears and Apprehensions of all honest Men have been justified by the Event, is now no longer a Question: And as without the Concurrence of a Parliament it was impossible to have plung'd the Nation into such inextricable Difficulties, I will give you a short View what a Share the Parliament has had in this wonderful Undertaking, and how far they

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have

have contributed to the Ruin of their Country.

I have too much Charity to believe, that all who have been consenting to these pernicious Measures equally design'd the Mischiefs that have come upon us : Those who have had the Management of this great Machine, and seem indeed to understand nothing but the managing of *Parties*, and making a proper Use of the Weakness and Corruption of Mankind, knew this desperate Game was not to be play'd but by the utmost Dissimulation, and by deceiving and imposing upon great Numbers of well-meaning Men : Specious Pretences have never been wanting to gild the bitter Pill, and the Nation by Degrees has been drawn into these Extremes ; but as Gentlemens Eyes begin to be open'd, they surely will resent such intollerable Treatment ; and when they find that what they were told of other People was utterly false, and that all the great Advantages they were made to hope for from this new Scheme end in nothing, or what is worse in the Ruin of their Country, they will begin to think, before it's too late, what must be the unavoidable Consequence, if they persist to go blindly on, and follow the Dictates of those who have thus grossly deluded them.

As

As there was nothing which *Queen, Lords and Commons*, in all former Parliaments, and the whole Nation had express'd a greater Zeal and Concern for, than securing *Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Austria*, it had been too gross, at the first Opening of this Parliament, to have discover'd the Design of giving them entirely into the Hands of *France*: The Commons therefore are taught to declare for * *a vigorous Prosecution of the War in all its Parts, and especially in Spain*; for it was not yet time to take off the Mask, and confess that the War was to be ended, let the Consequence be what it would.

Soon after an Account comes of an Action in *Spain*, much to the Disadvantage of *King Charles*, which *Her Majesty* communicates to the Parliament. The Commons, still zealous for the *War in Spain*, think it necessary for her Majesty to give Directions † for sending and procuring more Troops to repair this Loss, and not discourag'd by Misfortunes, promise to use their utmost Endeavours to enable her Majesty to carry on the just and necessary War in which she was engag'd, and to support her in such Measures on this Occasion shou'd be thought proper to

As Commons Address, Nov. 30. 1710.

Commons Address, Jan. 3. 1710.

retrieve the Loss in Spain. So the War that time, it seems, was *just and necessary* and Spain at any rate was then thought worth the saving ; and yet, methinks, we had been very much in earnest, even that time, we should have heard of Forces sent from hence, or Foreigners hir'd to repair this Loss : But as the Parliament had never any Curiosity to enquire how far the Address had been comply'd with, I was afraid King Charles from that Hour never found any Effect of this great Zeal for Service.

However, publick Declarations in Favour are still thought necessary. Upon the Death of *the Emperor*, to prevent ill Consequence thereof, * *the Interests of the House of Austria are to be supported, the utmost Endeavours are to be us'd to promote the Election of the King of Spain to the Empire.* These Endeavours are us'd, prove successful ; but who would have thought at that time that the Empire was to be purchas'd by King Charles at so great a Rate as the Loss of the Crown of Spain, but so it has happen'd, and the only Argument that has been us'd for giving Spain to King Philip, has been to preserve the Balance of Power in Europe, which was

* Commons Address, April 20. 1711.

otherwise be in Danger from the Conjunction of the *Empire and Spain* ; but I dare answer for the Parliament, whatever others might design, they did not in the least foresee this unhappy Consequence. Thus we see thro' the whole Course of this first Session this Parliament was zealously devoted to the Interest of King *Charles* as King of *Spain*.

Before the next Session, a Project of Peace had been set on foot, and the World began to suspect that *Spain* was now to be given up to the *House of Bourbon*. I must do the Parliament that Justice to confess, that this at first gave Offence to a great many ; they knew not very well how to relish such a direct Contradiction to all they had been saying and doing for so many Years past ; and with these Sentiments, 'tis very well known, that most Gentlemen came out of the Country to attend the Second Session of Parliament ; but a few Prorogations, some Town-Conversation, and a little secret Conviction, brought this Matter to a Composition ; and in case nothing was said expressly of *Spain*, a general Address, * *full of entire Confidence and Satisfaction in the Just and Honourable Peace in view*, which no body then knew one Word of, was agreed to.

* Commons Address, Decemb. 8. 1711.

This

This Matter then was to be manag'd a little more tenderly, and the Commons were to be taught a new Lesson. In order to this a Pamphlet, call'd *The Conduct of the Allies*, was publish'd, and a great deal of Industry used to make this the *Political Creed of the Party*, which all the *Orthodox Friends of France* embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole Scheme of the Proceeding of that Session. This Master-piece, fill'd with Falsities and Misrepresentations, was no sooner dispers'd and canvass'd in the World, but it produc'd the desir'd Effect, affording Arguments for artful and ill-designing Instruments to prevent and prejudice the Minds of weak and deluded People, and firing others, who had no Leisure or Opportunity to be better inform'd, with Resentment and Indignation against all the *Allies*, who, they had been made to believe, had dealt so unfaithfully with us; and accordingly Addresses are made in Parliament * *for Accounts of the Quota's and Proportions of Her Majesty and Her Allies during the War, and how the same have been observ'd, for all Treaties for raising and augmenting Proportions* †, and whatever else was thought necessary for carrying on the Grand Design. These Addresses produce States of

* Decemb. 20. 1711.

† Jan. 31.

the War, prepar'd by those who had procur'd 'em to be call'd for, and who would not, in all probability, deliver any but such as serv'd their own Purpose. Upon the Day appointed to consider of the State of the War, *Eleven Questions* are brought into the House ready pen'd, and all number'd, and put into the Hands of proper Persons, who mov'd them in a very decent Order; and, without any more Ceremony, the Parliament in an Hour's time judg'd and censur'd the *late Emperor*, the present Emperor, the *King of Portugal*, and the *States General*; with all whom it has been so lately declar'd, that a strict Friendship and good Correspondence was above all things to be cultivated, to render the Peace secure and lasting.

This was a handsome Step for one Day, and a good Preparative for what was to follow; but as the giving up *Spain* was the great Stumbling-block that was to be remov'd, something more was necessary to be done; another is appointed for considering the State of the War, and there several Resolutions are made, usher'd in in the same manner, stating the Expence of the War in *Spain*, which is there represented to be most extravagant, and to have cost an immense Sum, and such as the Nation cou'd not any longer possibly endure. By this means the Way is pav'd for giving
up

up *Spain* ; and what had been long before agreed to, but conceal'd, was now brought to Maturity, and began publickly to be avow'd and supported.

In a short time afterwards * the Terms of a General Peace are communicated wherein the giving up *Spain* and the *Indies* appears to be almost the only thing that was fully agreed to and concluded ; but the Loyal Commons, full of Indignation against the Allies, and aggrieved with the great Burden of the *Spanish War*, with † Hearts full of Gratitude for what had already been obtain'd, which seem'd to be nothing but a *French Renunciation*, want Words to express the Satisfaction with which they receiv'd the good News of a Proposal for giving *Spain* to King *Philip*, which was to execute it self.

I have neither Room nor Time here to enter into a Justification of the *Allies*, and to shew the Falsities and Misrepresentations of the State of the War in all Parts. The *States General*, sensible of the Injustice that was done them, represented their Case in a Memorial to the *QUEEN* which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd by the Votes and Resolutions

* June 6. 1711. † Com. Addr. June 6. 1711

before brought to be
membrancer to lay before the House what Orders he had receiv'd for staying or issuing Process against Accountants. On Tuesday following, the 1st of May, the Deputy Remembrancer presents the said Orders and Warrants; but our worthy Patriots, impatient of Delay, on Saturday the 28th of April, resum'd the Consideration of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and censure, before the only Evidence, which could set this Matter in a true Light, was before them, which they themselves had call'd for, and which prov'd a full Justification of the Person whom they thought it necessary first to hang and then to try.

The next Article is the Debt of the Navy: This too has been so fully explain'd, that it needs no further Justification. But this gave the Parliament Occasion to declare, That * *Exceeding the Parliamentary Provisions was a new and illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament.* It is almost incredible that immediately after this, the Exceedings of the Two next Years shou'd be greater, and less justifiable, than in any of the former Years.

The Expence of the Navy for the Year 1711. exceeded the Supply granted for

* Representation, May 24. 1710.

that Service above 600000*l.* as appears by the Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, at *Michaelmas*, 1711. given into Parliament.

The Debt of the Navy at *Christmas* last, as given into Parliament, with the Deficiency of last Years Funds, was above 700000*l.* In both these Years the Parliament made the same Provision for the Navy, as in any Year of the War; and the World must needs be sensible what great Services have been done at Sea these last two Years; but both those Accounts of Exceedings have been laid before this Parliament, and no Notice taken of them.

By an Account from the *Exchequer* of the Sums voted and rais'd, and Sums receiv'd and issued for the Year 1712. it appears that the last Year's Expence exceeded the Supplies by above *half a Million*; a pretty reasonable Exceeding for such a pacific Year; and altho' all these Accounts lay upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, not one Word of Notice is taken of them.

The whole Expedition to *Quebeck* and *Canada* was an Exceeding, for which no Supply wasever yet demanded, or granted in Parliament; and tho' so much has been said of * *supplying Provisions to Land Forces*

* *Di to Representation.*

the House of Commons. This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any body should dare to undeceive the World. The Memorial, therefore, is first call'd a * *pretended Memorial*, and then voted a *False, Scandalous and Malicious Libel*; and Mr. Buckley, Author of the *Daily Courant*, who printed it, taken into Custody of the *Serjeant at Arms*. Such consummate Justice will have met with who dar'd to speak unreasonable Truths, either within Doors or without: The *States General*, I presume, escap'd an express Censure, because Her Majesty had this Session declar'd † *their interest inseparable from her own*, and the Parliament had concurr'd with her in it.

The next thing I shall remark of this Parliament is, the Methods they took to commend themselves to the People: this they labour'd, by endeavouring to detect great Frauds, and Abuses, and Misapplications of Publick Money, during the Administration; their Discoveries are summ'd up in a general *Representation to the QUEEN*, of which I will venture to assert, that all the Particulars consist either of Falsities, or Mistakes, or Misrepresentations; and that where-ever the Fact is, the same things have been done again

April 8. 1712.

† Decemb. 7. 1711.

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by the present Ministry, and either justified or not animadverted upon by this Parliament.

The great Instance is that £. 35, 000, 000 were not accounted for; but this Charge has been so fully confuted, and it has been so evidently prov'd, that of the £. 35 Millions, Accounts had been duly render'd for all but 4 Millions, which is much short of one Years Supply, to which the least Answer has never been given, that 't is needless to enlarge upon that.

But here may be seen a true Specimen of the Candor and Justice of this House of Commons. The two Uses that were to be made of this Vote were to raise a Clamour in the Country, and to come at a Censure of the *Late Lord Treasurer*, whom they voted * *guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust and high Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accountants to pass the Accounts.* If he was guilty, it must be by sending Orders or Warrants to the *Deputy Remembrancer* to stay Process. This the House of Commons was sensible of, and therefore in order to have the whole Matter before them, on *Thursday the 26th April, 1711.* they order'd the *Deputy*

* April 28. 1710.

paid off, without laying any Burthen upon the People; besides, if the People were not to be yearly tax'd for this Interest, who that has any Regard for Posterity will say, that granting such a considerable Fund in Perpetuity, which would otherwise in three Years have been at Liberty for any future Necessities of the Publick, is not laying a heavy Burden upon the People?

Thus we see how the Publick Debts have been paid by this Parliament. In the same Manner do they talk of *restoring Credit*; we all know at what time, and to what a Degree, the Stocks sunk at once, that nothing since, not even Peace it self, has been able to raise them to their former Value; and I am at loss to guess what they mean, who talk of *restoring Credit*, unless it was by making all *Exchequer Bills Specie Bills*. There was indeed a very great Discount upon *Non Specie Bills*, occasion'd by the Change of the Ministry, the Parliament granted 45000*l* *per. Ann.* for Circulating *Exchequer Bills*, and making all Bills *Specie Bills*; and by that means indeed they did reduce the great Discount they had brought upon them, and for 45000*l* *per. Ann.* did restore *Credit* in the single Instance of *Exchequer Bills*.

And

And now I am upon Mony Matters, I beg leave to mention one Thing, which perhaps has not been consider'd by many; what the several *Prorogations* of this Sessions from Time to Time, to the 13th. of *April last*, did actually cost the Nation: The usual time for the meeting the Parliament, and even the latest, according to the most modern Custom, hath been before *Christmas*; I presume it will nor be deny'd me, but before that Time, this last Year, after the repeated Cessation of Arms both by Land and Sea, and after the *Duke of Ormond's* Orders to withdraw from the Army, and leave the *Allies* to the Mercy of *France*, all Things were so thoroughly agreed betwixt *England and France*, that the Peace was in Effect concluded betwixt us, or at least that we were entirely satisfy'd, that there cou'd be no further Danger of any War betwixt the two Nations, the Obstructions and Delays to signing the Peace arising only from the Obstinacy of some of the *Allies*, and a restless Faction at home; if this be true, and the Parliament had been suffer'd to meet, the Expence might from that time have been reduc'd, and the same Force that has been judg'd necessary for our Security both by Sea and Land, for the last six *Months of the Year*, had been equally sufficient for the *first six Months*, and no Body will pretend to shew me one Reason to the contrary: If so, by comparing

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to Board, the same was done in this Case,
and likewise for the Regiments that were
sent to Spain at the latter End of the Year
1710; for which no Deduction has been yet
made out of the Pay of the Forces, nor any
thing resign'd to the Victualling; and what
is most strange, these Services were under
Consideration, and going on, at the very
Time that the Parliament was censuring
the late Ministry for the very same Mea-
sures.

Another Method of making this Parlia-
ment, and their great Directors, popular,
and at the same time leaving a heavy Im-
putation upon the late Ministry, was *
calling for an Account of all the Publick Debts
which were stated to be more than Nine
Millions, and discharging them without any
further Charge to the People. That the Debt
at Michelmass, 1710. was under Seven Mil-
lions, is too notorious to be disputed; that
it was swell'd to above Nine Millions, by
near Three Millions being granted, in Aid
of the Supplies of that Year, and compu-
ted into the gross Sum, from the Nature
of the Project, is as well known: But be
the Debt what they please, to say it is paid
off, and without any Charge to the People,
is beyond my Apprehension.

Dec. 7. 1710.

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The Debt was due in the several Offices, and secur'd to the Creditors by National Credit, on proper Debentures, Bills and Certificates, that carry'd an Interest of 6. *l. per. Cent.* How is this Debt now discharg'd? By being transfer'd to the *general Mortgage*, which is now made a Security for paying the same Interest as before. If a Man owes a *Thousand Pounds* upon his Bond, or any other personal Security, and afterwards mortgages his Estate for better securing the Principal and Interest, will any Man say, that by this Means he has paid off or discharg'd his Debt? Or is not he in Truth as much in Debt as before? But if this Project comes to be thoroughly understood, it will still appear in a very different Light from what the Authors of it labour to represent it. The Funds of the *general Mortgage* were before engag'd to the Year 1716. and therefore could not, till that time, be apply'd towards paying the Interest of the *South Sea Stock*; The annual Interest thereof is above 570000. *l.* which must till then be paid out of the Supplies granted for the Service of each current Year, as it has hitherto been done; and by the Votes of this Sessions we see 540000. *l.* granted expressly for this Service, which is more than 12 *d. in the Pound* of the Land Tax, or the whole Neat Produce of the *Malt Tax*, apply'd to pay the Interest of a Debt, which is said to be paid

paring the Provision that the Parliament has made for the *First six Months of this Year* with the Provision that is made for the *Last six Months*, we shall soon see what might have been sav'd to the Nation, if the Parliament had been permitted to sit at the usual Time.

(a) *The Expence of 30000 Men for Sea Service, for six Months, at the usual Allowance of above 2000000 l. per Ann. for 40000 Men, will amount to about* - - - - - 750000 00 00

(b) *There was granted for defraying the Charge of the Land Forces in Her Majesty's Service, for the First six Months,* - - - - - 636888 14 10
Total Charge of the 1st Half Year, 1386888 14 10

(a) *The Expence of 10000 Men for Sea Service for six Months, at the same Allowance, will amount to about* - - - - - 250000 00 00

(b) *There was granted for Land Forces, &c. for the last six Months of this Year,* - - - - - 270073 10 10
Total Expence of the 2d Half Year, 520073 10 10
The Difference is - - - - - 866815 04 00

(a) *Voted Apr. 21. 1713.* (b) *Voted May 9. 1713.*

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This

This proves, to a Demonstration, what the late *Prorogations* did cost the Nation, a Sum almost equal to the Neat Produce of this Year's Land Tax. Such frequent *Prorogations*, and such unnecessary Charges upon the People, might have created some Uneasiness in a less *loyal House of Commons*; but this *dutiful Parliament* was very well satisfied, and readily made good all the extraordinary Expences that had been made without any Authority or Consent of Parliament.

Before I leave this Topick, let me make one general Observation, That the *House of Commons*, who thought the Burthen of the Taxes intolerable, and that the deplorable Circumstances of the *Nation* made almost any Peace desirable, rais'd and levy'd more Mony upon the Subject in Two Years, in which nothing at all has been done, than was rais'd in any Two of the most glorious and successful Years of the War; such Sums, as if they had been apply'd to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, without such melancholly and reproachful Interruptions as we have seen, had procur'd us indeed *a safe, lasting and honourable Peace*.

But the Gentlemen, I am afraid, wou'd take it ill, if I should pass over in Silence the *Persons* they thought worth their Notice,

tice, and upon whom they bestow'd such particular Marks of their Favour.

The *Duke of Marlborough* had beaten *France* too often ever to be forgiven; it was necessary he shou'd be disgrac'd, or the Scheme could not go on; he was too considerable to be dropp'd quietly; but because his publick Services to his Country could not be call'd in Question, the known and usual Perquisites of the General are voted *Publick Mony, and are to be accounted for.*

And that it might be thought that this Prosecution of the *Duke of Marlborough* did not proceed entirely from Party-Malice, they vote that the *two and a half per Cent.* which had been deducted from the Pay of the Foreigners, * *shou'd be continued for the Year 1712. and apply'd for the Service of the War.* This had an Appearance of saving some Mony for the Publick, but what was really sav'd we shall soon see; a new General is appointed, very different from the last; A General, as the *Examiner* says, *that knew how to obey as well as to command, I believe he did;* But by the Clamour that has been made in the World of the vast Incomes and Sallaries of the *Duke of Marlborough*, during the Time he serv'd, no

* *March 1. 1710.*

body wou'd have imagin'd that the new General must have had greater Appointments and Allowances from the Publick than the *Duke of Marlborough* ever had ; but 5000 *l.* is immediately paid him for his Equipage, which the other never had ; and an Allowance of 600 *l.* per *Mensem* for his Table, which the *Duke of Marlborough* never ask'd or thought of, is directed by Warrant out of the Moneys granted for the Service of the War. I believe when this is computed and added to the 5000 *l.* all that was deducted last Year for the *Two and Half per Cent. from the Foreigners*, will fall short of making it good to the Publick. The Difference then is, the Foreigners by Treaty gave it to the *Duke of Marlborough* for Contingencies and secret Service, the Parliament censure his accepting it, and what then ? Grant it themselves, or, which is the same thing, the Ministry do it for them, to the new General, and this for Equipage and Table-Money ; for as for secret Service we all know there was an end of that ; and yet the 10000 *l.* granted for that Service last Year was likewise issued to our peaceful General ; and if an Account was to be made up of all the Salaries and Incomes which this General receiv'd last Year from the Publick, they wou'd as far exceed the Allowances of the *Duke of Marlborough* as the Actions of one outdo the other. I will not take upon me

to make up the Account; but if any body will give himself the Trouble to compute what is the Income of a *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, of *Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards*, of a *Regiment of Horse*, of *General and Commander in Chief* at 20*l.* per Day, and add these to the Sums above-mention'd, I believe a good Manager might farm them at 40000 *l.* per Ann. and be well paid for his Trouble.

The *Lord Townshend* had made a Treaty for securing a good *Barrier to the States*, and the *Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover* to these Kingdoms. These were great Obstacles, and such as the *King of France* must needs insist should be remov'd; what then cou'd be less expected from such good Friends as we are now become to *France*, than to declare the Man an *Enemy to the QUEEN and Kingdom*, who had done such disagreeable things to our best Ally?

Mr. *Walpole* had been often very troublesome in the House, talk'd of Publick Accounts, which he pretended to understand, and would, upon all Occasions, be defending the *late Ministry*, where he thought them clear and innocent; he must therefore be sent to the Tower, and expell'd the House, to prevent his giving this Parliament any further Trouble; and for a Charge

Charge against him, or any body else, the *Commissioners of Accounts*, who have by this time sufficiently convinc'd the World that they are of no use, but to sully the Characters of those that are out of Power, and to skreen the Iniquities of those that are in, were ready as soon as the Word was given, to cook up a Complaint sufficient for the present Purpose, tho' falsify'd by positive Evidence upon Oath; but in all these Censures it has so happen'd, that the Persons concern'd may reckon them as so many Honours done them.

I must not forget the last Piece of Civility that this Courtly House of Commons paid to the Crown; I mean the raising 500000 *l.* to pay the Debts of the Civil List. I will not enter into an Account how this Debt came to be contracted; 'tis notorious, and every Officer of the Household can testify this Truth, that their Arrears are at least double of what they were at the Change of the Ministry: 'Tis very well known, that there was issued in the first eight Years of *Her Majesty's* Reign, out of the Civil List Funds, to the Use of the War and other Publick Occasions, above 500000 *l.* which very easily accounts for the Debt incurr'd in that time. I make no doubt but there have been large and very extraordinary Issues made since, I do not suppose for the Service of the War, perhaps

perhaps for obtaining and justifying this wonderful Peace ; tho' methinks 'tis hard that *France* should not pay that Reckoning ; which, altho' I can give no Account of, I make no doubt but they that were so ready to pay the Debt, had their Reasons for so doing, and can in a great measure account for the contracting of it : Whether they were induc'd to pay this Debt, for the Share they have had of it, or what they are to have towards enabling them to carry their next Elections, is not material ; but 'tis certainly a most dangerous Precedent, to be mortgaging the Funds that are settled for the Support of the Civil Lists, which by degrees may all be so far engag'd and granted away, that a *Land Tax* or a *Malt Tax* must be made at last an *Hereditary Revenue* for Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

I must not omit the singular Behaviour of this Parliament in relation to the *Treaty of Commerce* : I do not intend to enter into Disquisition of the Treaty, and show how destructive it was to the Trade of *Great-Britain* in all its Parts ; That was so well understood by all sensible Men about this Town, and I hope will be so thoroughly understood by all the Trading Part of the Kingdom, that they will either elect none that gave the least Countenance to such a pernicious Bill, or give them such Instructions

tions to oppose any future Attempt of that kind, that there shall be no Danger of the Treaty's being render'd effectual. But what's remarkable is the Conduct of the House of Commons upon this Occasion: they were zealous for the *Treaty of Commerce* in every Step, and wou'd bear no Opposition till they came to the Question of engrossing the Bill; by that time Petitions from all Parts of the Country began to alarm them, and whether out of a Regard to the Good of their Country, or an Apprehension of losing their next Elections I will not determine; but a sudden Turn was taken, and the Bill rejected; and here was an end at once of all the wonderful Advantages that *Great-Britain* was to reap from this celebrated Peace: But rejecting the Bill was not so trivial a matter, and something must be done to give Satisfaction for this first Instance of Disloyalty.

The same Gentlemen, therefore, who had been instrumental in rejecting the Bill must now make a healing Address, and atone by the Loss of their Reputations for the good Service they had dar'd to do their Country: Having at the Opening of the Session congratulated the *QUEEN* upon the Conclusion of a Peace, which they then knew nothing of, * *they express now their*

* Address, June 23. 1713.

*Thankfulness for the Terms and Conditions of it, which they had just rejected as dangerous and pernicious to the Kingdom, But they say, * So good a Foundation of Trade was laid, as might be farther improv'd to the Advantage of the Kingdom, which they desire may be perfected, and so explain'd, as fully to answer Her Majesty's good Intentions for the Good and Welfare of her People. What a Mockery is here, and plain Contradiction to all Common Sense? But how it was understood at Court is plain by the QUEEN's Answer: † She thanks them for fully expressing their Approbation of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce, and promises them not to improve, perfect or explain, but to secure to them the Benefits and Advantages which with great Difficulty had been obtain'd for her Subjects: And for this most Gracious Answer, the House of Commons return their most humble Thanks; thereby confessing they did fully approve the Treaty of Commerce, which they had just rejected, and that all they desir'd was to have those same Advantages in Trade secur'd to them, which for want of understanding they had so lately mistaken for great Mischiefs and unavoidable Destruction to all the Manufactures of Great-Britain. But by these*

* Address, June 23. 1713.

† Queen's Answer to the last Address.

Steps, and what was said at the Conclusion of this Session, there is one thing the People of *England* may be very sure of, That this same *Treaty of Commerce* neither explain'd, improv'd nor perfected, and no other will be laid before the next Parliament, and no Endeavours wanting to carry it thro', and render it effectual.

Such Recantations, as this seems to be, are a little new in Parliament ; and I was at a Loss to find any thing like it, till this Parliament furnish'd me with a Precedent : In the Committee of Ways and Means, a *Duty upon Leather* was mov'd, and press'd by the Court, but rejected as grievous to the People. This was resent'd in a very high manner ; but a little Discipline soon made amends, and the same Gentlemen who voted against a *Duty upon Leather*, ask'd Pardon, and oblig'd the Court with their Votes for a *Duty upon Hides and Skins tann'd, taw'd or dress'd*.

Some short Account of the secret History of this *Treaty of Commerce* may not be improper, and may serve to enlighten the World concerning it. When it was first publish'd, and Objections against it arose, it was entertain'd by our great Men as a thing very indifferent to them, and for which they were no ways concern'd ; but desir'd the Bill might take its Fate, as it should

should be judg'd advantagious or prejudicial to the Nation. When the Eighth and Ninth Articles came to be better consider'd, and it was manifest to every body, that the plain Sense and Meaning of them could no ways be understood, but to the Prejudice of *Great-Britain*, these were call'd factious Constructions, and such as *France* never means or design'd; and upon Application of the *East-India Company*, it was promis'd them, that an Explanation shou'd be procur'd from *France* in a Week's time, entirely to their Satisfaction. But this Explanation was never since heard of; there were several Instructions given to the Committee for Clauses to enact the *French King's* Meaning; but the Uneasiness still increasing, and a general Discontent arising, the next Expedient was to drop the Bill; and this was promis'd in a Letter wrote to the *Speaker* for that purpose; but *France* still persisting, no Explanation can be had, either to ease the present Difficulties, or any Hopes given of such Alterations against another Parliament, as might quiet the Minds of the People. What then was to be done? They who seem'd so indifferent at the Beginning, can no longer disguise themselves; new Orders are given on sudden, and the Bill must be carry'd thro' with a SPIRIT, for *France* wou'd have so; and so little did they doubt of Success, that the *French Ambassador* had an

Express ready booted to send the good News of Passing the Bill to *France*, a Bon-fire pil'd before *Somerset-House Gate*, and *Jones's* Guns ready loaded, to eccho the glad Tydings from t'other Side of the *Wa-ter*. And with good Reason was all this Preparation made, for the Bill was rejected but by *Nine Votes* ; so narrowly did the Trade of *Great-Britain* and all its Manufactures escape the most fatal Blow that ever was attempted to be given them.

But 'tis not to be wonder'd at that such Attempts as these have been made, and that the good Nature of the House of Commons is so much rely'd upon. There was nothing that the *People of England* had been better pleas'd with than the delivering up *Dunkirk*, and the hopes of its Demolition : This seems to be expressly provided for in the *Treaty of Peace*, and that it should be done within five Months after the Conditions of Peace are concluded and signed ; but there follows an Exception, that the Demolition shall not be begun till an *Equivalent* for it is put into the Hands of the *King of France*. This naturally led the House of Commons to enquire by an Address * what the *Equivalent* was to be for demolishing *Dunkirk*, or in case it was de-

* June 3. 1713.

lish'd, what was stipulated concerning it ; for 'tis observable, that this Equivalent is nowhere mention'd either in the Treaty of Peace betwixt England and France, or France and Holland.

In about three Weeks after *, an Answer comes to this Address, *That the Equivalent, which was to be given for Dunkirk was already in the Hands of the French King.* And is it credible that such an Answer to this Address should prove satisfactory ? Or is any Man in *England* a jot the wiser ? Or does he know at all the more what is this *Equivalent*, or what is become of *Dunkirk* ? If the *Equivalent* is in the Hands of *France*, why are not the Works begun to be demolish'd ? The Peace was sign'd the last of *March*, O. S. the Works towards the Sea were to be demolish'd in two Months, those towards the Land in three Months, the *Equivalent* we are told *is in the Hands of France*, and yet there is not one Stroke struck now in almost four Months, in order to the Demolition ; and at the same time the House of Commons is not only satisfy'd with such an Answer, but what is more strange, have made a Provision for the Garrison of *Dunkirk* till *Christmas* next, and granted a Supply of

* June 20. 1713.

near 40000 *l.* for that Purpose. After this, what can we suppose too gross to pass upon this House of Commons?

I will conclude with one general Remark, That this House of Commons must be confess'd to be a Set of very *Dutiful* and *Loyal* Gentlemen; who out of Principle will go as far in complying with all the Demands of a Ministry, as any that ever went before them, or can ever succeed them. But I would not have it thought that all this was pure Loyalty; a little Regard to themselves, and a small Spice of Interest must be allow'd to have had some Share in influencing and procuring all this *dutiful* and submissive Behaviour: And I wonder indeed that those who employ'd them, and had the Benefit of their profess'd Zeal for the Prerogative, did not consult their Honours a little more, than so openly and barefac'd, at the End of each Sessions, to be rewarding them for their good and faithful Service. It was never known before, that Days were set apart for rewarding Members of Parliament with Places and Employments: He that will look upon the Votes of the Last Day of the First Session, will find almost nothing done, but new *Writs* order'd in the room of Parliament Men, who had receiv'd their Wages for their past Year's Service; and to such a Pitch were they come at last, that at
the

the End of the Second Session, when the *QUEEN*'s Speech was made, and the Session clos'd to all other Intents and Purposes, both Houses are order'd to adjourn themselves for *Eighteen Days*, as if something extraordinary was still behind, that might require the sitting of the Parliament; but when the Day comes, nothing is done, but a second List of *Loyal Members* preferr'd is produc'd, and the Vacancies of *Patriots* turn'd *Courtiers* are by new Writs order'd to be fill'd up, that these *dutiful* Members might be ready, at the Beginning of the next Session, to serve those that had so well rewarded them for their past Services.

This is a very short History of this memorable Parliament. You see the Picture in Miniature; if it were to be drawn at whole Length, and to the Life, it would surprize you more; but by this Sample the Freeholders of *England* may judge by what Means this Parliament has deserv'd to have their Memory transmitted to Posterity, and will surely consider well of their past Behaviour before they choose those again, who for the Characters of *Loyal* and *Dutiful*, have sacrific'd their Country to the Power of *France*, which can end in nothing but bringing in the *Pretender*, *Poverty* and *Slavery*.

F I N I S.

The End of the Second Session, which
the House of Commons was called, and the
Session closed for all other business and
business, both Houses are ordered to adjourn
themselves for eight days, to wit, to the
thing extraordinary, was still being, that
might require the sitting of the Parliament;
but when the Day comes, nothing is done,
but a second part of a Law, which was
is produced, and the Warrants of the
House of Commons are by Law, this order
to be filled up, that the House of Commons
might be ready, at the beginning of the
next Session, to serve the House had to
well rewarded them for their past Services.

This is a very short history of the
House of Commons, for the House of Commons
is a very ancient body, and is one of the
ancients, and to the House, it would improve
of more; but by the House the House
of Commons of England, which is the House
of Commons, the House of Commons, and the
House of Commons, which is the House of
Commons, and will more consider well of
the House of Commons, before they choose the
House of Commons, who for the House of
Commons, have sacrificed their Country
to the Power of the House, which can end in
nothing but bringing in the House of
Commons, and the House of Commons.

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